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ABSTRACT

Socioeconomic development in China between the two world wars included an extensive mass education effort by reform-minded young Chinese. Focusing on adult literacy and rural reconstruction, Chinese educators employed various strategies to stimulate and assist self-help efforts in Chinese villages. Paramount among these educational techniques were those developed by James Yen, a Chinese scholar who participated in graduate education studies in several American universities. Yen pursued the objective of creating a more democratic China through the preparation of healthier, more productive citizens. His method was basic education adapted to the rural environment. Previous to Yen's first efforts at educational reform in 1922, the Chinese Republic exhibited a complete lack of educational opportunity for the lower classes, and for rural people in particular. Yen's first campaign against illiteracy included simplification of the Chinese system of writing and efforts to convince common laborers that they could learn to read. Community leaders assumed initial responsibility for the campaign, but it later became necessary to create an organization to promote, coordinate, and supervise administrative and financial details. This organization, entitled the Mass Education Movement, became known as MEM. By 1929, MEM leaders realized that literacy alone was not a sufficient goal. In response to continuing needs of peasants in rural areas, the MEM organized a program stressing education, economic improvement, public health, and citizenship training. (Author/DB)

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INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

LITERACY EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE EFFORTS IN PRE-COMMUNIST CHINA: THE MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT, 1922-1949

by

Rolland G. Paulston

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"LITERACY EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE EFFORTS IN PRE-COMMUNIST CHINA: THE MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT 1922 - 1949"

"Seek wisdom even if it be in China"
-Sayings of Mohammed-

This study reports on the long-term program of socio-economic change carried out in rural pre-communist China. Under the banner of the Mass Education Movement (MEM), reform-minded young Chinese used various strategies to stimulate and assist self-help efforts in thousands of Chinese villages. These efforts are described first in terms of goals to be obtained and methods used, and then are evaluated in relation to the expected as well as unforeseen results.

In the period between the two World Wars the history of literacy and education in the development of the community in China in a large part is the story of Yen Yang Chu's efforts to introduce the fundamentals of western reasoning and his mass education techniques. James Yen, as he is commonly known, symbolizes a phase in China's transition to the technology of the West. Yen was born into the scholar class but received his education at Yale and Princeton during the first World War. He has been granted three honorary degrees from American universities and even today is known throughout the world as an authority in the mass education of adults.[1] Yen's work in China is significant because it represents an important phase in that country's educational and cultural change. A study of Yen's literacy and

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rural reconstruction program is valuable because it shows the limitations of educational change under hostile socio-economic conditions. It also helps to clarify the technical possibilities and problems of mobilization for mass education in nonrevolutionary, or equilibrium, socioeconomic settings.

Yen initially developed his literacy program within a broad context of similar social reform movements being carried out in China in individual modernization efforts, such as the Chinese Students' Movement for national sovereignty, mass education and westernization, and the Movement of Renaissance Literature for a new national culture and a simplified written language. There was the general desire among Chinese intellectuals to strengthen the ation and in this way end its humiliating semi-colonial state. Taking part in the intellectual discontent and giving it a constructive purpose, Yen had considerable success channeling middle and upper class enthusiasm for education and reform through an organization that sought to bring literacy to illiterate China without major social change. By the 1920's, during the second decade of the Republic, it had become increasingly clear even to the privileged classes that China's progress was somehow related to the educational level and participation of the people in national life.

James Yen pursued the goal of a free, more democratic China through the preparation of more healthy, productive citizens. His method was basic education adapted to the rural level. He created the world's first mass education movement, an innovation which was to have vast repercussions. The purpose of this report is to examine and evaluate Yen's movement as a force in China's educational and cultural change.[2] It also gives the opportunity to glimpse some conditions which facilitated the communist victory in 1949, and can help outline something of the scope of

China's problems in the spheres of education and agrarian reform. The current communist government is still trying to correct these problems but with a very different educational philosophy than the western type used by Yen. The role played by various types of western education in preparation of China for communism and for the Red Guard type of idealism will be the subject of another study.

Socio-economic and geographic barriers to literacy in China

The Chinese Republic, founded in 1912, had a population in the early 1920's that according to certain calculations was over 80% illiterate. The anomaly of such a condition in a civilization admired for its literary ability and traditions resulted in large measure from the complexity of the classical Chinese language, the rigid social structure, and a fundamental dualism fixed in a rural-urban structure.

Since the ancient dynasties, scholars trained in classical literature made up a large percentage of the small governing class. The justification for the existence of these few scholars was found in the difficulty of learning Confucius and a written language composed of hundreds of thousands of classical characters. The lack of educational opportunities in the lower classes, as well as the highly selective nature of the rigorous examination system of the Empire,[4] also affirmed the power of a small elite. Since these examinations were open to all qualified candidates, however, limited opportunities for upward social mobility via education did in fact exist. In general, however, the governing scholar class reproduced itself mainly from among its own ranks.[5] The vast cultural gap between Chinese rural and urban populations also illustrated a near total lack of opportunity for literacy

education. Traditionally more than 80% of the Chinese people lived in small rural farms. Isolated and poor, the peasants knew little of the urban culture which would gain them access to education.[7] The walls of China became a symbol of a deeply divided nation and of a society poorly prepared for the strange and foreign democratic demands of the Republic.[8]

When James Yen began his mass education movement in 1922, the increase in foreign trade, the development of an urban working class, the improvement of transportation, already had contributed to the accelerated breakdown of the ancient system based on a socially privileged "elite." The rapid increase in urban education and the new partially westernized urban China served only to further isolate the rural population. The republican leaders' solution to this socio-economic gap sought to unify China through the new forces of nationalism and education.[9] Nevertheless, for economic as well as cultural reasons, the government was incapable of carrying out an adequate system of popular education throughout the nation. By World War I it had become evident that only private philanthropic movements could effectively address the need to educate the forgotten Chinese peasant.[10]

James Yen

James Yen was born in 1893 into the scholar class that for centuries guarded and perpetuated the culture of Confucius. He received the traditional classical education and his first contact with illiterate Chinese peasants was in France during the first World War. After completing his baccalaureate degree at Yale, Yen sailed for France to help in the allied war effort. He served as Secretary of Education for a labor batallion of 20,000 illiterate workers from north China.[11] Since they only spoke Chinese, these men were completely isolated linguistically. Yen quickly understood their total lack of educational

opportunity as well as their basic worth. He began a mass reading and writing instruction in the simplified pai hua of north China. Very soon many of the 5,000 young Chinese in his charge were able to write simple letters to their families and to read the newspaper which Yen himself founded, "The Chinese Laborers' Weekly."[12] Yen's System of Fundamental Characters made rapid progress possible. His system was composed of the 1,000 most frequently used characters in pai hua. This in fact was basic Chinese since it did not employ the remainder of approximately 22,000 characters of the Chinese language.[13] Although it was limited, the system of 1,000 characters made basic literacy possible.

The educational experience in France taught Yen, as he has put it, "the great necessity of teaching my countrymen and, at the same time, their tremendous potential."[14] With the completion of his duties at the end of the war, Yen decided "that upon my return to China I would dedicate my life to the education and enlightenment of thousands and thousands of my countrymen to whom the opportunity of education has been denied."[15]

After the humiliating incident of May 4, 1919, when Europeans fired on striking Chinese workers, greater numbers of educated Chinese took up the call for education and national regeneration begun by Yen. They actively sought out the peasants to bring about literacy and social reform.[16] For example, in 1922 university student volunteers provided literacy classes to more than 100,000 people in some 83 YMCA centers throughout China.[17]

Although these and similar programs may have had little enduring educational value, and they were certainly poorly planned and carried out, the efforts were vital and catalytic. They indicated that many of the educated had become aware of a social obligation to the education of poor

people and were taking the initiative, long ignored by weak governments, to carry out a movement of educational reform. Thus, James Yen's return to China in 1920 coincided with an awakening of the conscience of the young Chinese intellectuals, and with their attempt to mobilize for democratic reform.[18] Yen could not have arrived at a more opportune time.

The First Campaigns

In recognition for his work in France, the Chinese YMCA named Yen General Secretary of Popular Education in China in 1922.[19] He immediately began to develop a program to achieve his goal of making 300 million Chinese peasants literate. His instrument for the task was the system of a thousand characters which had allowed him to teach a good pai hua vocabulary in only four months in France.[20] After perfecting this system of instruction Yen had to convince the common laborer accustomed to thinking education was the exclusive realm of the scholars that it was possible and beneficial for him to learn to read. In order to avoid sporadic isolated literacy programs which some volunteers had carried out, Yen developed a master plan for his YMCA campaign. It was well organized, pedagogically sound, and required the voluntary involvement of entire villages. The first pilot effort of literacy campaign took place in urban Changsha in 1922, with the ambitious goal "to make Changsha 100% literate."[21]

A fourfold program was used, and a committee made up of local leaders assumed total responsibility for the campaign and its continuation. They recruited professors and students, raised funds from local sources and chose teachers to supervise the instructional program.[22] While Changsha had not achieved literacy in four months, when Yen moved on to begin the campaign in other areas,

it did possess an education organization that was eventually able to reach this goal.

In a few years, the general results of Yen's efforts in numerous literacy campaigns were so convincing that a great number of scholars, artists and students volunteered as teachers. Even many classical scholars who had initially ridiculed Yen's efforts came to his aid. This "education of the educated" was seen by Yen as one of his most significant achievements[23.] and a necessary condition for his voluntary strategy to operate and spread.

It soon became necessary to create an organization to promote, coordinate and supervise the myriad of administrative and financial details. Leaders in education, business and government from each province of China met in Peking in 1929 to form the National Association of the Mass Education Movement.[24.] Elected General Secretary, Yen proceeded to expand the work of the association to all of China, from Manchuria to Canton.

Yen even had considerable success in teaching literacy in various armies of the Warlords. During this period there were constant civil wars brought about by the power plays of the Warlords. This continued until the nationalist victory in 1927 resulted in a strong central government.[25.] Yen believed mass education in the army provided " ... a unique opportunity to convert the actual danger of the army into something positive for the constructive advancement of China."[26.]

By 1929 the Mass Education Movement had become a dynamic force for literacy and civic mobilization. It had established literacy programs, operated by the municipalities, in more than 1,000 cities and towns in 22 of the 23 provinces.[27.]

For the first time in China's history, a strong desire to learn to read took hold of the entire nation. Textbooks of the thousand characters were privately published and unauthorized editions circulated in almost every Chinese community, a demonstration of growing demand for primary education books. This situation, of course, made it difficult to assess the number of students involved in the process. Yen, by means of the sale of the movement's books, estimated that the number of students who had studied and become literate in his "People's Schools" reached 4 to 5 million in 1929.[28.] In a study on nationalism and education in China, Cyrus Peake projected a less optimistic figure of somewhat less than one million.[29.] But more important than statistics or educational conquests was the social awakening stimulated by the movement. Many Chinese actively sought education, and the traditional gap between the educated and the masses of the people was decreasing for the first time. More than 200,000 teachers had volunteered their time without remuneration. The new nationalist government, seeing the political possibilities of popular education, started its own mass education program which sought to copy the outline of Yen's successful strategy.[30.] In summary, by the late 1920's Yen's movement made a most impressive contribution to the development of a new national conscience rooted in literacy and civic obligation.

While the achievements may have been gratifying, the leaders of the movement had come to realize that literacy alone was not a sufficient goal. It was futile to give the masses this tool if they could not use it to improve their daily lives. Most of the early campaigns had taken place in urban areas, and the solution to the most pressing problem, the improvement of the lives of the 300 million farmers, still had not been addressed, let alone tackled seriously.

Second Phase: Rural Reconstruction

In 1929 Yen decided to concentrate the Movement's future activities in a program of community development capable of helping peasants. It was to extend to them the knowledge necessary to achieve greater productivity and a better life. Yen believed that if such a reform program was carried out under typical rural conditions it could be applied to most of China.[31] Ting Hsien, an agricultural county in north China with a population of 400,000, was selected as an experimental site. The Movement organized a "social laboratory" which attracted the services of numerous Chinese and American educators and experts in various fields. Recognizing the potential value of this program for rural reform, the Rockefeller Foundation, The Milbank Fund, the Chinese government and others, contributed large sums of money.[32]

After three years of work and experience in the field, the body of professors developed a fourfold program of rural education. Yen summarized the research agenda in the following manner:[33]

A. Education

1. Promotion of literacy
2. Research into the techniques, curriculum and examinations of the People's Schools and the existing schools
3. Drama
4. Use of radio and films in teaching
5. Cultural centers and libraries
6. Publications of and research into pai hua literature

B. Economic Improvement

1. Agricultural projects and research into productivity
2. Village industries
3. Rural economy, planning and cooperatives

C. Public Health

1. Community health center
2. Vaccinations
3. Training Programs

D. Citizenship Training

1. Rural militia
2. Community self-government
3. Study of the ideals and qualities of the Chinese as expressed in the great personalities of Chinese history and literature

Promotion of literacy was now reduced to a mere part of the overall educational program. Schools were to be established in each of the 471 communities of Ting Hsien.[34] After the initial organization, as in the well-known and successful earlier urban campaigns, the operation of the schools was to be left to the initiative and resources of the community.[35] Rural conditions, however, required innovations and adaptations of the methods previously used in the urban areas. There had been, for example, sufficient teachers in the urban campaigns, but in Ting Hsien there were not enough for the proposed number of rural schools. In an effort to increase the teaching force, the most capable students were chosen to teach. They, in turn, sent their best students to duplicate the system throughout the Hsien.[36]

Also, the problem of semi-literates falling back into illiteracy was greater in the rural areas where reading matter could rarely be found. Yen tried to resolve this problem with the creation of reading clubs, continuing education classes, local newspapers and literature for the peasants.

In Yen's health program, the peasant graduates or "Fellow Scholars," as they were called, took charge of the Movement's effective system of rural health.[37] After a short training program, they assumed the role of rural health workers. Their tasks were: (1) to vaccinate the villagers against small pox

and cholera, (2) to insure the availability of potable water, (3) to give first aid, (4) to record vital statistics, and (5) to administer the most commonly used medications. According to undocumented studies, the system of volunteer work enabled the Movement in 1934 to eradicate a number of illnesses in Ting Hsien. This was done through the practice of preventive medicine at an average cost of ten cents per capita.[38]

There was also notable progress in the areas of economic improvement and citizenship training. Yen and his colleagues worked with the Fellow Scholars in diffusing an interrelated program seeking improvements in agriculture, cattle raising, rural industry and better accounting and credit methods.[39] Training in this program, it was hoped, would enable graduates to spread their more efficient production techniques throughout the country. It was also hoped that they would be demonstrators of agricultural methods, organizers of cooperatives, and assume leadership in agriculture and rural industry.[40]

Following the development of the education, health and cooperative programs, the people of Ting Hsien moved to develop an improved system of local government. They converted it from an agency which served mainly to collect taxes and settle lawsuits to one which sought the well-being of all the inhabitants of the region.[41] This first step in self-government followed in large part from Yen's program of democratic action, a program with the aim of improving the community through the combined efforts of the people themselves.

News of the Movement's work in Ting Hsien spread quickly and requests for help in planning similar development programs arrived from other Chinese provinces. Since the Movement was a private organization with very limited funds, it could only accept new projects of special significance,

or those which would be useful to verify results already obtained. Guided by the two considerations of regional demonstration and operational differentiation, the Movement in 1936 offered its assistance in rural reconstruction to more than 800 private and government centers.[42] In this manner the results of the experiments carried out in Ting Hsien found concrete application throughout many locations in rural China.

With the Japanese invasion, however, the Movement's momentum decreased. Yen found he had to move the greater part of his activities to the remote and mountainous province of Szechuan, the last stronghold of unoccupied China. There, in 1940, in a combined effort with the Nationalist Government, Yen established a permanent institute for the study of rural reconstruction. James Yen was its president. The institute would provide, in theory, a firm foundation for rural development activities, a central institute where administrators as well as personnel could be trained in the special techniques elaborated and carried out by the Movement.[43]

The protracted Sino-Japanese War increasingly destroyed many of the social and cultural institutions built by Yen and his organization. During the latter war years (1938-1945), activities consisted mainly of mass instruction in defense, nationalist doctrine, literacy, vocational training and compensation programs for millions of refugees from Japanese occupied areas.[44] In contrast with his initial enthusiasm, Yen wrote at this time in a sad, reflective note: "This war has delayed and brought great suffering to our Movement. Hundreds of our colleagues have been killed by bombs, fire or drowning. But the spirit of the mass education movement has not been beaten ... And, although we have a task on our shoulders that at this time surpasses our strength, we are prepared to continue ..."[45]

After the Japanese defeat, the Movement struggled to extend its program, but worked only in Szechuan province. The establishment of a regional cooperative institute did facilitate greater collaboration between the Nationalist Government's educational efforts and the Movement's activities in adult, health, and economic education. The development of village industries in various areas in China benefitted at least in part from the application of what was learned in Ting Hsien in the establishment of cooperatives, financing and marketing.

Yet, in spite of these hard won achievements, the years that immediately preceded the communist victory were a period of rapid decline for the Mass Education Movement. One of the reasons was Yen's decision to keep his organization totally independent from outside political control. Another was that the Nationalist government was becoming increasingly hostile, more conservative, and less cooperative. Its policy after the second World War, i.e. " ... to postpone all reform until there is a stable political situation ...", obviously checked the continuation and expansion of the rural reconstruction program and any efforts at peasant mobilization, if only for small, incremental change.[46.]

What results can be claimed by the Mass Education Movement in its large scale work for literacy and rural reconstruction from 1922 to the communist victory in 1949? Pearl Buck, writing in 1948, proclaimed--without presenting evidence--that due to mass education techniques during the war (1938-1945) more than 27 million people "were taught to read."[47.] Unfortunately, it is not known what percentage of these were taught by Yen's organization. However, she further states that about 60 million illiterates contacted the Movement during the period of the two World Wars and that 47 million of them

learned to read at an average cost of $1.00 per person.[48] Yen does not cite exact figures but indicates his work reduced overall illiteracy in China from 85% in 1922 to 65% in 1947.[49] Statistics from the Chinese Ministry of Education for the same year show a 53.1% literacy rate based on an estimated population of 450 million.[50]

Judging the effects of the Movement's literacy program in terms of doubtful statistics is certainly unsatisfactory. A better approach might be to evaluate literacy education only as a part of the greater program of socio-economic reform and rural reconstruction. Without doubt the Movement exposed millions of peasants to literacy materials and programs and simultaneously promoted and printed and distributed reading materials on development programs in pai hua. This allowed mostly poor people to develop a more active national awareness and, perhaps, to appreciate some of the more practical aspects of Western technology and political thought. Proof of economic improvements on the farms was visible during the rural reconstruction period. In Ting Hsien, for example, the farmers almost doubled their income around the middle of 1930 by using credit, cooperatives, modern farming techniques and improved seeds, cattle and village-built machinery.[51] The cooperatives also played a large part in improving rural social life. In varying degrees, the structural problems of severe scarcity of capital, unprincipled money lenders, and economic isolation decreased. Civic apathy also declined considerably when farmers could obtain loans at low interest, and thus improve their buying and marketing power.

One indication of the practical nature of Yen's sanitary education program was the establishment by government decree in 1939 of the Community Health System at the regional level in all of unoccupied China.[52] In the field

of self-government, Yen's Government System developed at Ting Hsien ended up a rather obvious government ploy to obtain popular support. This plan to combine education with local administration and reconstruction was formally put into operation in all the nation in 1941 but accomplished little.[53.]

As a self-help effort, Yen's program could in theory be taught to peasants anywhere to manage and finance their own campaigns. Instruction, it was assumed, would tend to continue once started, while the use of volunteers and student-teachers would keep the cost of operation low. It should be noted that the seemingly effective rural health program which used local farmers as volunteers, cost 10 cents "per capita" in 1934.

Since more than half the world's population still faces the same problems of disease, illiteracy, poverty and poor government which Yen attacked in China, UNESCO urged Yen before the communist victory to " ... extend your great work in China to the whole world."[54.] According to Gibson's 1948 report, even in those areas of China governed by the communists Yen's texts were used in schools and the army but with the political content altered in such a way that communism and not democracy was valued.[55.] In 1949 the communist victory in China destroyed the MEM and Yen and his co-workers fled abroad. Since 1952, James Yen has been actively involved in the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement. This effort to apply what Yen learned in his first education campaigns in China is a private organization supported by the government.[56.]

To evaluate the Movement's importance we should note that even in 1930 Yen's work had been criticized by detractors on the right and the left for both its independent and its largely experimental nature. For example, The League of Nations' Mission of Experts visiting Ting Hsien in 1932 at

a time of growing government suspicion and control reported that:

"Many of the Movement's activities tend to idealize the actual system of life instead of working with a view to the future. The limited sphere of activities hinders the Movement from adequately judging the great national problems and the general needs of the country. A close look at the diverse activities of the Movement gives the impression that much work, money and good will is being wasted in a work of limited scope, incapable of producing a general economic or social plan."[57.]

The Mission--composed of European university educators--also made the following suggestion: "The Movement's vast resources could be used with more effectiveness and economy if these social workers--who are truly admirable and show an unparalleled devotion--were given important positions in the Public Education Service."[58.] To this reasonable criticism which questioned why the Chinese Government did not assume total responsibility for the Movement's work, Yen forcibly answered:

"The Government has blindly copied the educational institutions of the West; conventional educational institutions have shown themselves indifferent and ignorant of the economic and social problems of 300 million Chinese who live in rural reas; the Government is faced with its own internal conflict--the Communist rebellion; the Movement is working in cooperation with the Government. The educational task in China is so great that there cannot be the fear that the Mass Education Movement could be duplicating the Government's efforts; and the existence of the Movement's private effort gives a democratic frame to political and social education."[59.]

Conclusions

In the epoch of the first World War, the westernization of urban life in China gave impetus to a need for literacy education and imparted educational standards for organizing it. Given the fact that the solution to key political and socioeconomic problems could only be accomplished with agrarian reform and in the development of truly participatory institutions, literacy education in itself was not sufficient. A program was needed which took into account the different ills of the nation, to which education and literacy were related. This was the reasoning which convinced Yen to modify his initial literacy campaigns towards a broader, interrelated rural reconstruction program. The program also included education as a means of preserving health, earning one's livelihood and participating in self-government.

The content of this far-reaching program was developed by carrying out an experiment to evaluate the needs and aspirations of the people it was designed to help. The methods of developing and carrying out the program were essentially democratic although highly paternalistic in decision making and control of resources. The development, financing and continuity of the education program was in fact mainly the responsibility of a small literate elite in each community. The rural population undoubtedly found itself shaken from its state of lethargy in which it had been living since ancient times. But without socioeconomic reform, the techniques of western education could do little more than excite a desire for a better life.

In summary, the results of James Yen's educational efforts were without a doubt revolutionary in their ramifications. In its efforts to

bring about mass education and rural reform through western technology, the MEM produced many beneficial results. Others, on the other hand, were less desirable and more permanent. The Nationalists, locked in a death struggle with Mao Tse-Tung's forces, early on saw that Yen's reform work was serving to open the peasant's eyes to their own desperate conditions and the government's inability to help them. With participation in the MEM and the discovery of the significance of literacy and greater self-government, a large number of peasants became vulnerable to the simple but effective communist message of structured inequality and armed revolt. Ironically, after the second World War, the continuous loss of the rural population to the communist cause contributed to the Kuomintang's restriction of the Movement's educational activities in agrarian reform. This in turn produced greater discontent against the government in the rural populations while the Kuomintang became even more nepotistic and reactionary.

In spite of the inherent limitations of mass poverty and ignorance, wars and constant chaos as well as government opposition, James Yen's Mass Education Movement can only be seen as a powerful if little studied force in Chinese rural change, especially during its early period. At the same time, Yen's Movement indirectly served to prepare peasants for the new national doctrine of communism and for the successful application of many MEM programs in a massive new struggle for social and economic reform.

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38. "Three Hundred Million to Go," TIME 49:78, May 19, 1947.

39. Buck, op. cit., p. 60.

40. Y. C. James Yen, "Mass Education in China," JOURNAL OF ADULT EDUCATION, 13:221, April 1941.

41. Buck, op. cit., p. 64.

42. Y.C. James Yen, "Chinese Mass Education in Wartime," JOURNAL OF ADULT EDUCATION, 10:184, April 1938.

43. Y.C. James Yen, "Mass Education in China," JOURNAL OF ADULT EDUCATION, 13:222, April 1941.

44. China, Ministry of Education, op. cit., p. 21.

45. Yen, 1941, op. cit., p. 222.

46. China, Ministry of Education, op. cit., p. 85.

47. Pearl S. Buck, "Yen of China," UNITED NATIONAL WORLD 2:48, February 1948.

48. Buck, 1948, Ibid.

49. Yen, 1947, op. cit., p. 78.

50. China, Ministry of Education, op. cit., p. 94.

51. Buck, 1945, op. cit., p. 50.

52. Yen, 1941, op. cit., p. 50.

53. This position to gain popular support during wartime was of minor significance after 1945. See: China, Ministry of Education, op. cit., p. 85.

54. Buck, 1948, op. cit., p. 52.

55. T. Gibson, "Modern China: Adult Movement," TIMES EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT, 1721:232, April 24, 1948.

56. See, for example, "Self-Help: Jimmy Yen's Proven Aid for Developing Nations," READER'S DIGEST 79:134, October 1961. Dr. Yen's aim to apply the lessons learned in China to the Philippine rural sector is described in detail in: Y.C. Yen, Gregorio M. Feliciano, and the Joint Staffs of the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT: A MANUAL FOR FIELD WORKERS (edited by Harry Bayard Price), New York: Praeger, 1967.

57. C. H. Becker, and others, THE REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN CHINA, Paris: League of Nations' Institute of International Cooperation, 1932, pp. 193-194.

58. Ibid., p. 196.

60. Yen, 1932, op. cit., p. 1068.